

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 NICOSI 00351 251517Z

41

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /026 W  
----- 039884

O P 251300Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1006

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

USMISSION USUN

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T NICOSIA 0351

EXDIS

NOFORN

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CY TU GR

SUBJECT: CONVERSATIONS WITH CLERIDES AND DENKTASH

SUMMARY: DENKTASH ACKNOWLEDGES ANKARA DICTAT ON NICOSIA AIRPORT RE-OPENING. CLERIDES IS DISCOURAGED AT PROSPECTS FOR NEGOTIATION GIVEN TURKISH RIGIDITY AS ILLUSTRATED BOTH IN THE NEGOTIATIONS AND IN ESENBEL'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS. HE HAS ARRANGED TO HAVE ATHENS REVIEW BEFORE IT IS DELIVERED A STATEMENT CONDEMNING LACK OF PROGRESS WHICH MAKARIOS INTENDS TO MAKE BEFORE FEBRUARY 5. CLERIDES DEPLORES NEW TURKISH EFFORTS FORCE 12,000 GREEKS REMAINING IN NORTH TO MIGRATE SOUTH.

1. EUR/SE DIRECTOR EAGLETON AND I CALLED ON DENKTASH AND CLERIDES JANUARY 23.

2. WITH DENKTASH, OUR CONVERSATION WAS PRIMARILY A SHARP GO-ROUND ON NICOSIA AIRPORT RE-OPENING. DENKTASH MADE NO SERIOUS EFFORT TO DEFEND HIS ABANDONMENT OF ACCEPTANCE WITH ME OF ORIGINAL FORMULA FOR AIRPORT RE-OPENING. IT WAS PERFECTLY CLEAR THAT THE NEW TURKISH PROPOSALS WHICH WERE INJECTED AT NEGOTIATING SESSION

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 NICOSI 00351 251517Z

JANUARY 20 HAD BEEN IMPOSED ON HIM BY ANKARA. HE SOUGHT TO

INDICATE DE FACTO TURKISH FLEXIBILITY BY ASSERTING THAT 3,000 GREEKS WHO WERE REFUGEES ON EASTERN SBA HAD RETURNED TO HOMES IN AKHNA AREA. (UNFICYP REPORTS DO NOT CONFIRM.) HE WAS MODERATELY HOPEFUL THAT SOMETHING COMPARABLE MIGHT BE ACHIEVED IN ATHIENOU AREA BUT SAID THIS DEPENDED ON TURKISH MILITARY AND HE NOT YET IN POSITION TO REPLY TO CLERIDES REQUEST ON THIS SCORE.

3. OUR TALK WITH CLERIDES SHOWED HIM TO BE DISHEARTENED. HE FEELS THERE HAS BEEN A MARKED DETERIORATION IN SITUATION OVER PAST THREE WEEKS DESPITE AGREEMENT TO RESUME TALKS WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS AND AT A QUICKER PACE, FOR WHICH HE GAVE US INTERVENTION THE MAJOR CREDIT. HE COMPLAINED SPECIFICALLY OF TURKEY'S INJECTION OF A WHOLLY NEW AND UNACCEPTABLE FORMULA FOR NICOSIA AIRPORT RE-OPENING, AND OF ESENBEL'S STAKING OUT INTRANSIGENT NEGOTIATING POSITIONS IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS. HE CITED THE INCREASING DIFFICULTIES OF DISSUADING THE GREEK SIDE (MAKARIOS) FROM RESPONDING IN PUBLIC IN A MANNER THAT WOULD CRIPPLE THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE STATED THAT AFTER MORE THAN THREE MONTHS OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN HIM AND DENKTASH, WITH NO TANGIBLE PROGRESS ON ANY SUBSTANTIVE ISSUE OF INTEREST TO THEM, PRESSURE FOR BREAKING OFF NEGOTIATIONS IS MOUNTING AMONG GREEK CYPRIOTS. THIS PLAYS DIRECTLY TO MAKARIOS AND HIS ADVISORS WHO DO NOT LIKE THE NEGOTIATIONS AND WHO WOULD PREFER THEIR FAVORITE AND COMPLETELY UNPRODUCTIVE ALTERNATIVE OF INTERNATIONALIZATION.

4. CLERIDES CONFIRMED WHAT WE HAD LEARNED FROM MAKARIOS (SEPTEL) TO EFFECT THAT ARCHBISHOP INTENDS MAKE A STATEMENT DENOUNCING LACK OF PROGRESS IN TALKS DUE TO TURKISH INTRANSIGENCE ON OR ABOUT JAN 28. BEING WELL AWARE OF THE EFFECT ON THE US ADMINISTRATION'S PROBLEM WITH CONGRESS IN REGARD TURKISH AID, AND SHARING OUR VIEW THAT A CUTOFF WOULD SPELL AN END TO EFFECTIVE NEGOTIATION FOR SOLUTION, CLERIDES SAID HE HAD AT LEAST BEEN ABLE TO OBTAIN THROUGH GREEK AMBASSADOR DOUNTAS INSISTENCE FROM ATHENS THAT GOG BE GIVEN OPPORTUNITY VET THE STATEMENT BEFORE IT IS MADE.

5. CLERIDES WAS ALSO AWARE OF ARCHBISHOP'S INTENTION SUBMIT TO TURKEY THROUGH DENKTASH A REQUEST FOR CLARIFICATION OF TURKEY'S POSITION ON KEY ISSUES OF SUBSTANCE. REPLYING THAT THIS WOULD BE LIKELY PROVOKE AN IMMEDIATE AND PUBLIC TURKISH REJECTION, HE HAD BATTLED, SUCCESSFULLY SO FAR, TO HAVE PRESENTATION OF ARCHBISHOP'S SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 NICOSI 00351 251517Z

PAPER DELAYED UNTIL AFTER FEBRUARY 5.

6. CLERIDES ALSO TOLD US THAT MAKARIOS INTENDS SHORTLY TO PUBLISH THE TEXT OF HIS NEGOTIATING MANDATE TO CLERIDES IN AN EFFORT DEMONSTRATE TO GREEK CYPRIOTS THAT HE IS TRYING TO DO SOMETHING FOR THEM. THE DOCUMENT AS PUBLISHED WILL BE MINUS A FEW KEY LINES ON WHICH CLERIDES HAD BEEN GIVEN FLEXIBILITY TO MOVE TO A FALL-BACK POSITION IF NECESSARY, SPECIFICALLY ON PERCENTAGE OF

CYPRIOT TERRITORY WHICH GOC WOULD ACCEPT UNDER TURKISH  
ADMINISTRATION.

7. ADDING TO HIS BLEAK FORECAST, CLERIDES NOTED SHARPLY INCREASED  
PRESSURES ON THE APPROXIMATELY 12,000 GREEK CYPRIOTS WHO REMAIN  
IN NORTHERN ZONE TO FORCE THEM TO MOVE SOUTH. IN MORPHOU AREA,  
THE 350 PLUS GREEK CYPRIOTS WHO HAVE REMAINED SINCE HOSTILITIES  
HAVE NOW BEEN FORCED OUT OF THEIR HOMES AND INTO A SINGLE SCHOOL  
BUILDING. BOTH THERE AND IN THE KARPASS, THE GREEK CYPRIOTS HAVE  
BEEN GIVEN FORMS WITH WHICH TO APPLY FOR ONE-WAY MIGRATION  
SOUTH, WITH HARRASSMENT OF VARIOUS SORTS TO FORCE THEM TO SIGN.

8. WE TOLD CLERIDES OF THE HIGH ESTEEM IN WHICH HE IS HELD IN  
WASHINGTON, URGED HIM TO KEEP WITH THE NEGOTIATION, AND MOVE IT  
AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE, ASSURING HIM THAT HE WOULD HAVE FULL  
US SUPPORT FOR REASONABLE COMPROMISE.  
CRAWFORD

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** REFUGEES, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, AIRPORTS, POLITICAL SITUATION, NEGOTIATIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 25 JAN 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1975NICOSI00351  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D750029-0055  
**From:** NICOSIA  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1975/newtext/t19750120/aaaaarpz.tel  
**Line Count:** 132  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 28 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <28 APR 2003 by ElyME>; APPROVED <29 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CONVERSATIONS WITH CLERIDES AND DENKTASH SUMMARY: DENKTASH ACKNOWLEDGES ANKARA DICTAT ON NICOSIA AIRPORT  
**TAGS:** PFOR, CY, TU, GR, (CLERIDES), (DENKTASH)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006